This rule was debated at some length. finally laid upon the table. Mr. Lyon, of New York, stated that he had yesterday voted for consigning to the Commit-tee of the Whole the Nebraska-Kansas bill,

but that his name had been omitted in the report. By general consent, the Journal was or dered to be corrected. The House then resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole, and proceeded to consid

the Indian appropriation bill

#### WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1854

The Poem by Mary E. Hubbell, on our first page, needs to be read but once to be remembered always. FILES OF THE ERA FOR SALE. As we have been printing a large supply of the Era since the commencement of the Ne-

brasks excitement, we can furnish at very low rates, for general circulation, files of the paper from December 1, 1853, to April 1, 1854, a period of four months, containing-Goodell's Series on the Legal Tenure

Speech of Gerrit Smith on the Koszta Cor-Speech of Mr. Giddings on the Amista

Address of the Independent Democratic Members of Congress on the Nebraska Ques-

Speeches of Messrs. Chase, Seward, Sun per, and Douglas, upon the same question ; And our Editorials upon the same question amounting to more than one hundred columns We will supply them at 25 cents a single

file, or at \$1 for five files. We doubt whether documents of so much value, so suitable for circulation at this crisis. could be furnished at so low a cost in any oth-

# BADGER'S AMENDMENT-SQUATTER SOVER-

Let not the opponents of the Nebraska Bill be deceived by the clamor raised by a portion of the Southern press against Badger's amenda revisionary power over Territorial legislation. It may serve to illustrate the wonderful zeal and vigilance of certain gentlemen ambitious of notoriety, and to delude some Northern men with the notion that these amendments are signal concessions to the North, so valuable that they should disarm all opposition to the

The fact is, they concede nothing to the With or without them, the Bill is an outrage ruinous concession to Slavery. Messrs. Badger, Butler, and Mason, are too

that would impair its efficiency. The design of sarily the denial of any such right. of Oregon, Minnesota, Washington, and Texas. This design is completely covered by the Bill. held that his amendment was really nominal.

Supreme Court on their side, and are masters of the Administration that constitutes the argument. Territorial Courts, they can make good their boast. Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, frankly expresses the opinion that "the Territorial Legislature will take no action on the subject of Slavery, and will leave to American citizens residing in the Territory, to act as they please in regard to the introduction of claves;" but that "should a question be made as to the freedom of a slave, and he should demand his would be, that he held the slave as property

mental law of the country." "We conceive," says the South Side (Va.) Democrat, "that the thirty-five Senators who ries, a majority of which is in favor of the bill, sent, every one, if present, would probably have amendment) commit themselves to the great ment preconcerted, and when all the friends on Territories; that Mr. Cutting, speaking move to any of its Territories, and carry his vigilant Speaker could assign the floor to the Bill, and that his object in moving its referproperty with him, and claim for it legal pro- Chairman of said Committee; by whom the ence to the Committee of the Whole on the

The Washington Sentinel thinks the wise men of the Senate knew what they were about, its real friends. and that Badger's amendment ought to disturb no Southern man's nerves.

"Under the Constitution," it says "there is a theoretical existence of Slavery in all ac- would be "killing it by indirection. It was quired territory—that is, any man can carry his slaves into it. This is the view of the amendment in question. There is no need of reviving the old French law. There is no power in mittee on Territories of the House, and referred the Nebraska Bill having been stricken out, one way or the other. We presume no one can seriously believe that Mr. Badger's amendment will have the effect of preventing a master from carrying his slaves into Nebraska and they were favorable to the measure, when Kansas. The objection to it, in order to be they were willing to place it in a position walid, must show that it either abolishes Slavery in that Territory, or inhibits its going there, or that it interferes in some way against it. To our mind it has no such operation. On the contrary, we regard it, taken in conmplete assertion that we can conceive of the ctrine of non-intervention. If we had one giving in regard to it, we should

paragraph, or pending amendment, provided the provisions of the old French law, but provi the operative force of the Constitution. The old French law affords no protection to his prop-erty which the Constitution itself does not give. His rights are equal, and are the same with or without that law. If the master relies upon the local law for his right to the labor and service of his slave, it may become a very serious question whether, in the absence of consti-tutional protection, the local authorities of the Territories could not repeal or alter that law. It is far better for the Southern master that the right to the service of his slave should be protected by the operation of the Constitution han by the force of any local law."

In another part of the article from which this extract is taken, the editor holds, that when we acquire territory, it comes instantly under the operation of the Constitution of the United States "-that all laws inconsistent with the Constitution are immediately annulled-that laws prohibiting Slavery, being thus inconsistent, become at once void-and that laws recognising, and providing for, Slavery, being "consistent with the Constitution, are protected fully and completely so long as such territory remains in the condition of pu-

The Richmond (Va.) Whig says, "We have never entertained the idea that the object of this amendment was to lay any restriction upon the introduction of slaves into the Nebraska Territory."

"We care not," it continues, "whether the bill revives or repeals the old French law, in force prior to 1820, recognising or establishing Slavery in that territory. Without a positive restriction, such as that enacted under the Missouri Compromise, the introduction of elaves is permitted in this Territory. The Constitution of the United States will recognise its existence, and that is all the South need ask for. Let the crohibition be removed, and then Southern citizens can emigrate to the country with their slaves, and take the chances of its admission into the Union as slave or non-slaveholding into the Union as slave or non-slaveholding States. This privilege they have a right to, and in the absence of any special prohibitory enactment by Congress it is guarantied to them by the Federal Constitution. Slaves are recognized as property by the Constitution, and those holding them are as much entitled to their possession in the public territory as they are to any other species of property." These quotations show the prevailing opin-

ion among slaveholders. They will not hazard a substantial gain for Slavery upon a mere abstraction. Let no opponent of the Bill hope ment, or that of Douglas depriving Congress of for its defeat through discensions among them; and let not the Northern people be duped, by this clamor against Badger's amendment, into the notion that it is any concession to the North. The extracts we have submitted ex-

clude any such idea.

In view of these Pro-Slavery dogmas con cerning the Constitution, universally maintained by slaveholders, boldly proclaimed, pertinaciously urged, constantly acted upon by North, they take nothing from the South. them, the opponents of the Bill in the Senate sought to obtain an expression of opinion in on good faith, a reversal of the policy of the favor of the right of the People of a Territory. country for the third of a century, a base be through their Territorial Legislature, to extrayal of Northern interests, a profligate and clude Slavery. The Slaveholders openly denied the existence of any such right, and their cherished dogma, that the Constitution thecclear-headed not to understand the true nature retically recognises the existence of Slavery in and object of the Bill, and they are not the all Territory of the Union, and protects it men to propose of tolerate any amendments when actually existing there, involves neces-

it is, to repeal an act which discriminates so | And yet they all arrayed themselves in supfar between Liberty and Slavery as to imply port of the Bill, which professes to confer upon the whole of the unorganized territory of the their own institutions! Why? Because of Union to the curse of slave labor; to secure to the qualifying clause, "subject to the Constituslaveholders facilities for maintaining and aug. tion of the United States"-a qualification with menting their political ascendency; to estab- very different meanings in the two sections of menting their political ascendency; to establish a Principle, in virtue of which all future the Union—being construed by the slaveholding mour, Simmons, Skelton, Gerrit Smith, Richterritorial acquisitions may inure to their stepporters of the Bill to exclude all Territorial and H. Stanton, Hestor L. Stevens, Straub, Anterritorial acquisitions may inure to their spe- supporters of the Bill to exclude all Territorial cial benefit; and to repeal the act on a ground legislation against Slavery, while by its Northwhich will supersede and virtually annul what- ern advocates it is innocently asked, "Has the ever restriction in relation to Slavery may have Territorial Legislature the right to legislate been imposed by Congress in the Constitutions against the Constitution of the United States? Deliberately, through design, this Bill is invested with two faces, so framed as to admit of

and the absence of a provision securing to Con- passed it through the Senate, knowing this to gress a revisionary power over Territorial legis- be a fact, to a man voted down an amendment support the Bill at all hazards, and put it it, to take your slaves into United States Terrion, do not interfere with it. The Southern | which would have given it one face, one voice. Senators, who explained their views yesterday, one meaning :--that amendment was, that undid not change, and was not intended to change, which the legislation of the Territory was to not be depended upon to vote against the Bill Intervention was established—that the People the nature of the Bill. All concurred in repu- be subject, the Territorial Legislature would on the question of its passage. diating the doctrine of "Squatter Sovereign- have the right to exclude Slavery. The slave- Of these, some may be willing to get rid of ty," or the right of the People of a Territory holders voted against this, because they deny the measure in such a way as not to subject | well-we take you at your word, and shall proto legislate as they please, and in denying that such a right-the Northern supporters of the themselves to misconstruction and damage at the Bill recognised or gave countenance to, any Bill voted against it, leaving us in doubt wheth- the hands of their political foes, while others the act to labor for the exclusion of Slavery As we said once before, what care the or not; but the vote, as a whole, was a com- vote for it consistently. That the great majori- With a large and enterprising free population, elayeholders for the old Slave Code of Louisi- plete denial of its existence. And yet, the ty of those voting for this reference are unana-uncertain and indefinite at the best- Northern advocates of the Bill are shameless friendly to the Bill, there can be no doubt, and whether it be revived or not by the act of re- enough, in full view of this vote, to claim North- the spirit, firmness, and discretion, which they from abroad, we intend to take possession of peal, so long as they bulwark their claims with ern support for the Bill, on the ground that it exhibited in this preliminary struggle yesterthe Constitution of the United States? This recognises the right of the People of a Territory day, are full of encouragement to the friends is their Slave Code, as they boast, and so long to form their own institutions, and to exclude of justice and good faith. as they have the majority of the Judges of the Slavery. On this Lie, the supporters of the

# THE NEBRASKA-KANSAS BILL IN THE HOUSE

The vote of yesterday, by which the Nebraska-Kansas Bill was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, is important, but not decisive. Mr. Richard. freedom, on the ground that he was free under with more rashness than discretion, saw proper that some of the eight Southern men who on a Territorial Law, the answer of the master to make the disposition of the measure a test this occasion voted with the majority, from the question. If referred to the Committee on conviction that to disturb the Missouri Com- Anti-Slavery agitation and free labor instituunder a higher law than the enactment of a Ter- Territories, he said, it could be reported back, promise was, if not a violation of good faith, ritorial Legislature-under the great, funda- and, if a majority were in favor of it, after neces- at least pregnant with ultimate mischief to the recorded their names in its favor (Badger's might strike out the alien clause; at a mo- voted for referring the Bill to the Committee prizeiple, that, by virtue of the Constitution, of the measure should be prepared, report it in behalf of the "Hards" of New York, avowed every citizen of the Union has a right to re- back to the House; when the very able and approbation of the general principles of the

its passage required—this was the policy of sage through Congress, and the People must

the Committee of the Whole on the state of will can avert this catastrophe, the Union. That, Mr. Richardson declared. useless to disguise the fact; the Nebraskato the Committee of the Whole on the state the measure has passed both Houses of Condar. Gentlemen need not pretend to him that and become a law. where it could not be reached again during intervention with Slavery. The vexed question an endeavor to defeat it altogether."

There can be no doubt that Mr. Richardson gave utterance to the views of the great majority of the determined supporters of the Bill, vention by Congress with the subject of Slaand it is a fair inference that every one of the very-to the States and to the Territories that ninety five members who voted with him question is committed. We shall hold you to from the Territories to the States, and concenagainst the reference to the Committee of the this principle. To maintain it when its appli- trate it as Washington. What you mean, then, within the Territory is just as complete without the existence of the old French law as with
it. Even if Senator Badger's amendment had
not been adopted, the master, in introducing
his clave property within the Territory, would
not rely for its protection and security upon

whole on the state of the Union, not only is in
coation suits your gonvenience or interest, and
depth of the existence of the old French law as with
favor of its passage, and intends to vote for it,
not been adopted, the master, in introducing
his clave property within the Territory, would
not rely for its protection and security upon

whole on the state of the Union, not only is in
favor of its passage, and intends to vote for it,
line is a complete with
favor of its passage, and intends to vote for it,
show Hampshire, lows, and New Jersey, or IIfavor of its passage, and intends to vote for it,
line is a complete with
favor of its passage, and intends to vote for it,
show Hampshire, lows, and New Jersey, or IIfavor of its passage, and intends to vote for it,
line is clave property, with a Class
if it will. This it ought to do, and it ought
to do it on the Slavery Question into National politics, as
not rely for its protection and security upon

sacreted and established—we shall not permit
a basis of Party, as a bond of union between

Aristocracy of Slaveholders, who by their unisacreted and established—we shall not permit
and means to assist in the escape of our slaves—
Illinois across the Mississippi, lows on the
line is passage, and intends to vote for it,
line is clavery of its passage, and intends to vote for it,
line is clavery in the except of our slaves—
In this clavery Question into National politics, as
not here its broad folds.

Whole on the state of the Union, not only is in
line as complete with the rescape of our slaves—
Illinois across the Mississippi, lows on the
line is passage, and intends to vote for it,
line is clavery in the except of our slaves—
In the except of our slaves—
In the except of our slaves—
In the ex

Their names are as follows:

NAYS-Messrs. Abercrombie, Aiken, NAYS—Messrs. Abercrombie, Aiken, James C. Allen, Willis Allen, Asbe, Thos. H. Bayly, Barksdale, Bocock, Boyce, Breckinridge, Brooks, Caruthers, Caskie, Chastain, Churchwell, Clark, Clingman, Cobb, Colquitt, Cox, Craige, John G. Davis, Dawson, Deot, Disney, Dowdell, Dunbar, Elliott, English, Ewing, Faulkner, Florence, Goode, Greenwood, Grey, Hamilton, S. W. Harris, Wiley P. Harris, Hendricks, Henn, Hibbard, Hill, Houston, Ingersoll, G. W. Jones, J. G. Jones, Roland Jones, Keitt, Kerr, Kidwell, Kurtz, Latham, Letcher, Lindley, Macdonald Kurtz, Latham, Letcher, Lindley, Macdonald, McDougall, McMullen, McNair, McQueen, Maxwell, John G. Miller, Smith Miller, Milltill it be complied with. son, Olds, Mordecai Oliver, Orr, Packer, Joh Perkins, Phelps, Phillips, Powell, Preston, Ready, Reese, Richardson, Riddle, Robbins, Rogers, Ruffin, Seward, Shannon, Shaw, Show-er, Singleton, Samuel A. Smith, Wm. Smith, Wm. R. Smith, Geo. W. Smyth, Frederick P.

Stanton, Vansant, Walsh, Warren. Daniel Wright, H. B. Wright, and Zollicoffer-95. From the Slave States, 72, from the Fr States, 24. These twenty-four are-MACDONALD, of Maine. OLDS. of Ohio. HIBBARD, of N. H. DISNEY, do. INGERSOLL, of Conn. SHANNON, do. WALSH, of New York. J. G. DAVIS, of Ind. PACKER, of Pa. ENGLISH, WRIGHT, MILLER, HENDRICKS, do. KURTZ RICHARDSON, do HENN, of Iowa. LATHAM, of California ROBBINS, do. CLARK, of Michigan. McDougall, do. All, so-called Democrats-being 3 from New

England, 1 from New York, 7 from Pennsylvania, 1 from Michigan, 3 from Ohio, 4 from Indiana, 2 from Illinois, 1 from Iowa, 2 from From the vote given by these twenty-four

gentlemen, we understand, and their cons ents will understand, that they not only intend to vote for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but that they were anxious to aid Mr. Richardson in forcing through the Bill. without opportunity being allowed for free discussion. Doubtless they have made up their minds to meet the full responsibility of their course of action, and are willing to submit it to the judgment of their constituents.

Some seventeen or eighteen members from the free States were absent, or dodged a vote on this question. These were-

CUMMING, of N. York. DRUM, Pennsylvania. Howe, do. D. STUART, Michigan. WALKER. STRATTON, N. Jersey. LINDLEY, of Ohio. McCulloch, of Pa. SAPP, do. DUNHAM, of Indiana BRIDGES. Cook, of Iowa. Some of these were unintentionally abse ome, we fear, intentionally. Many friends of

Those voting to refer the Bill to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, were as follows:

Mr. Dean, a prominent "Soft" from New

York, would have been glad to see his vote re-

YEAS-Mesers. Appleton, Ball, Banks. Belcher, Bennett, Benson, Benton, Bissell, Bliss, Bugg, Campbell, Carpenter, Chamberlain, Bugg, Campbell, Carpenter, Chamberlain, Chandler, Chase, Corwin, Crocker, Cullom, Curtis, Cutting, Thomas Davis, De Witt, Dick, Dickinson, Eastman, Eddy, Edgerton, Edmands, Ellison, Etheridge, Everhart, Farley, Fenton, Flagler, Franklin, Fuller, Gamble, Giddings, Goodrich, Green, Grow, Aaron Harlan, Andrew J. Harlan, Harrison, Hastings, Haven, Hiester, Hughes, Hunt, Johnson, Daniel T. Jones, Kittredge, Knox, Lane, Lilly, McCulloch, Mace, Mayer, Matteson, Maurice, Mayall Murray, Nichols, Noble, Norton, Andrew Oliver, Parker, Peck, Peckham, Pennington, B. Perkins, Pratt, Pringle, Puryear, David Ritchie, drew Stuart, John J. Taylor, John L. Taylor, Thurston, Tracy, Trout, Upham, Vail, Wade, Walbridge, Walley, Etihu B. Washburne, Israel Washburn, Wells, John Wentworth, T. Wentworth, Westbrook, Wheeler, Witte, and

We said the vote on the reference was imin its present shape. Badger's amendment, two interpretations; and the majority that portant, though not decisive-important, as Federal Constitution does not carry Slavery through in hot haste-not decisive, because tory, or that the Territorial Legislatures will some voted to refer it to the Committee of the violate that instrument by excluding your der the Constitution of the United States, to Whole on the state of the Union, who could slaves. You told us that the Principle of Non-

er they believe in the existence of such a right may desire to amend the Bill so that they can from every foot of United States Territory.

But they must not relax their vigilance or tage, but not a triumph. A change of only eight votes would have thrown the day against them. That a majority of but fourteen could through without deliberation a measure of such free States are almost unanimously arrayed. sary amendments, it would be put upon its South, may yet be forced into a false position: passage. That is, the Committee on Territo- that of the eight Southern men who were abposition of the bill which a singere desire for "organ" to use all its power to insure its pas-

## HOW IT WILL WORK-A GLANCE AT THE

Now, says the slaveholder, we shall have peace. There will be no more Congressional the session. The effort so to refer the bill was is excluded from the halls of representation. There is an end of agitation.

A word on that point, says the Northern man. Your cherished principle is Non-Inter-

s a clear violation of the principle. To the States and to the Territories you have referred the entire question of Slavery; we now agree in this reference. To say the least, the question whether Congress has the power to legisthe right to legislate for Territories. You take the ground of strict construction in the latter case; we take the same ground in in any form in regard to Slavery, we insist upon its application in the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, a most edious act of Congressional intervention. Let the States and the Territories regulate the matter of escaping Politics. slaves for themselves. Are they not quite as capable of acting wisely in the premises as Congress? How dare you array yourselves against Popular Sovereignty and State Rights? Halls of Congress; but this cannot be done, so long as Congress shall persist in violating the principle of Non-Intervention, by usurping

Thirdly. The law regulating the coastwise slave trade, prescribing the amount of tonnage men who make others work for them. The in the vessels engaged in transporting slaves incorporation of two elements so fundamentis a palpable violation of the Principle, and from the Statute Book.

Fourthly. The Laws abolishing the foreign State rights. The subject is one belonging exclusively to the States and Territories, and these obnoxious Laws. Let the State or Ter. purposes. ritory decide for itself whether it will import or exclude slaves. This the Principle of Non-Intervention requires.

Fifthly. As the subject of Slavery in the Territories of the Union is excluded from Congress, we shall commence agitation among the People, whom your act empowers to form and regulate their institutions, in their own way. We are aware that by inserting the proviso, States," you covertly intended to prevent them from excluding Slavery. But there are two sides to that question. The Northern men who joined you in passing the Bill, held that the Proviso imposed no disability upon the inhabitants of a Territory, in relation to Slavery, for a law excluding it would not be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. That is just what we think. We Northern People, numbering some fourteen millions of freemen while you, Slaveholders, count not more than three hundred thousand heads, hold that the showing how many and who were willing to with it, or that you have the right, in virtue of of a Territory were to have the right to form | quite as well satisfied, looking alone to politiand regulate their own institutions. Very ceed according to the only fair construction of in support of the Nebraska Bill. receiving an accession yearly of some three or four hundred thousand Slavery hating people agitate till we succeed in establishing laws for the perpetual prohibition of Slavery. We shall not limit our enterprise to the northern por-Bill in the Northern States rest their whole lay down their arms. The struggle has only tions of such Territories, but go below as well as commenced. They have obtained an advan- above the line of 36 deg. 30 min. Before the national in form, but sectional in fact—enroll passage of this act, we felt somewhat restrained by an implied understanding that the Territory below 36 deg. 30 min. was to be surrenbe found against a movement, designed to force | dered to slave labor; but this act releases us from any such restraint, by recognising the to the aggrandizement of the Class Interest of magnitude, and in opposition to which the right of the People everywhere to determine and regulate their own institutions. The counson, Chairman of the Committee on Territo- must show them that any remissness on their try west of Arkaneas, a large portion of Texas, ries, who assumed the management of the bill, part may prove fatal. Let them remember, and the tract of land your Gadsden Treaty proposes to buy at an enormous price, for dis union purposes, will all open a wide field for

Your policy is, by this Principle of Non-In tervention, to extinguish agitation against Slavery, hem in and paralyze free labor institutions, and extend the area and augment the power of Slavery. We will show you that creed of Parties, and shared the policy of the trample upon all compromises—no restraint own power; but why this was so, in what way Non-Intervention has two sides to it. You imposed by the wisdom of our Fathers on the extension of Slavery, will you regard-every compact, by which, in consideration of certain

We shrink not, say the Slaveholders. We for Sectional purposes. control the Administration, and the Adminis- Political Anti-Slavery men, assailing this come the veto preragotive of our Governor: and, should you succeed in this, baffle the vigilance and assumen of our Judges. And depend upon it, we shall always take care to have Governors and Courts that will carry out our

views of the Constitution. That is the game, is it? replies our Northern friend. You bring back the agitation, then,

Presidency. As you will—here, too, we will Union from its original purposes. Our object Slaveholders know this; their talk about species of property would become inmeet you. Since you intend to fill the Presi- was to resoue the Government from the hands the assaults of Abolitionism on their domestic dency with a man pledged to baffle the will of of a Sectional Interest, to divorce it from its institutions, is all for effect. The issue they slave code of Maryland was re-enacted in this the People of the Territories, to appoint for degrading alliance with Slavery, and make it, force upon the free States is one of political slave code of Maryland was re-enacted in this District. Slavery here rests upon that code; them Governors and Judges who will prevent that code rests upon a special act of Congress; them from excluding Slavery, and forming their that code rests upon a special act of Congress; them from excluding Slavery, and forming their that code rests upon a special act of Congress; them from excluding Slavery, and forming their that code rests upon a special act of Congress; the organization of that act is intervention with the question of own domestic institutions to suit themselves, we tional Interests. Our motto was and is, "Lib- and power of Slavery; the free States revolt Slavery, and the principle of Non-Intervention will intend just the contrary. We will go for erty and Union," not "Slavery and Union"— at this prostitution of a Union formed to exrequires its repeal. This demand we shall continue to urge, and you shall have no peace it the issue of every election for the Presidency.

At this prostitution of a Union — at this prostitution of a Union formed to extend the blessings of Liberty, this perversion will make and if this be not true Nationality, what is?

We saw that the supporters of the Class In-On our banners we will inscribe, Non-Interven-Secondly. The Fagitive Slave Law of 1850 tion by Congress or the Federal Executive with Slavery in the Territories-election of Territo- selves Whigs or Democrats, the ordinary issues holders, and the Union from such prostitution. rial Governors and Judges by the People: or, if between the old parties were minor considera- Should this repeal movement succeed, the free this should not suit you, we will seek to fill the tions to them. Their first demand from what. States are again humbled, the slaveholders are Presidential Chair with a man pledged so to ever Party they acted with, was fidelity to again triumphant; the political power of the constitute the Executive and Judicial depart- Southern interests—a mere circumlocution, for former is weakened, that of the latter increas-

vorite Principle of Non-Intervention? What a tion to its adhesion? This odious Class Interthe former; and, as you have established the miserable delusion—that it will relieve you est had everything its own way. Should either principle that Coogress ought not to intergene from agitation! Turn this agitation out of Party refuse its demand, there was no antago-Congress, and you have only aroused it in the nistic Power elsewhere to fall back upon, and Territories; and your efforts to arrest it there.

The truth is, Slavery and Democracy are eternal antagonisms, and the attempt to harmonize them in one system, to equalize them, must forever prove an abortion. What one You are anxious to exclude agitation from the gains, the other loses-laws operating to the benefit of one must damage the other.

It is impossible in one system of Government to pursue a policy which shall equally the powers belonging to the States and the promote the interests of free labor and the in-Territories over the subject of fugitives from terests of slave labor; which shall carry forward, pari passu, the power and influence of the men who work for themselves, and the sentative of Freedom, received nine thousand different, wants so variant, and demanding to it are stronger and more prevalent than at is to be restricted. we shall give Congress no rest till it erase it policies so directly hostile to each other, must engender perpetual strife, dissension, and agitation. Each will be forever striving for the very, which has become more exacting in its setts is a hard one, and yet the average num-Slave Trade, and making participation in that mastery, and the struggle can be decided only traffic by American citizens, piracy, are in by casting out one or the other. So long clear violation of the Principle. They inter- as the slaveholders insist upon making the a defiant opposition, is bolder and more turbu- soil and and genial climate, is 15 to a square ern associates, he may have contributed fere wantonly with the domestic institutions of General Government responsible for Slavery the South, impliedly question the humanity of and subservient to it, in its fundamental lawthe South, impliedly question the humanity of and subservient to it, is its fundamental to the People of the South, unjustly discriminate the Constitution—in its statute laws, in its justin sion of loyalty on their part, it requires subbetween one kind of property and another, dicial decisions, in its diplomacy, there will fasten a stigma upon the slaveholding States, be, and there ought to be, political Anti-Slaare repugnant to Popular Sovereignty and very agitation. They can have rest from such agitation, only by consenting that the idea of Liberty shall be supreme in the Fedeshould be left with them to deal with accord- ral Government, in all its Departments, in ing to their own judgment. It is a fair pre- all its action, and Slavery be limited to the sumption that they understand best what their | States in which it exists, completely divorced own dignity and welfare demand. Carry out from the Federal Power, asking nothing from your Principle of Non-Intervention, and repeal it, and never seeking to use it for its sectional

#### PARTIES AND INTERESTS-THE PAST AND THE FUTURE.

When it became evident that the great body of slaveholding members of the Senate and House of Representatives intended to sunport the bill for the repeal of the Missour Compromise, it was hoped by Anti-Slavery men that there might be no exceptions. Aware that co-operation between the Northhad always been secured by the subservience of the former, that their union, as national organizations so called, had been maintained by an express or tacit recognition of the ascendency of Slavery, and that for these reasons they presented the most formidable obstacle to an organization, in an efficient form, of the sentiment of the North in favor of Free Labor and Free Institutions, they were not sorry when they saw the bond of union in the Whig and Democratic parties seriously threatened by this repeal movement. While, therefore, they honor the two Southern Senators who nobly opposed this movement, and the eight Southern members of the House who have manifested their hostility to it, on the ground, as we understand it, that it is against honor and good faith, they would have been cal consequences, had the Southern delegation in both Houses presented an unbroken front

The North has been deluded too long with the illusion of Nationality. It has been taught to regard Parties founded upon geographical distinctions as dangerous to the Union. Its Whigs and Democrats have denounced sectionalism, sectional agitation, sectional questions Parties, on the basis of National Interests ;-- a policy certainly desirable and patriotic, but which thus far has never been accomplished. They have succeeded in constructing Parties ing in their ranks Northern and Southern men, but with the leadership always in the hands of the latter-ostensibly aiming to promote the general welfare, but really tributary

Before the attempt to organize in a political form the Anti Slavery Sentiment of the coun try, this Interest pursued its object, steadily but quietly. Its power was felt, not so much in its exercise as in its results. It was seen that it furnished our Presidents, obtained the ascendency on the Supreme Bench, monopo lized the most important foreign appoint controlled the organization of the House Representatives and the Senate, bore sway in our National Political Conventions, dictated the Government, so as generally to enhance its trouble to inquire, and still fewer understood.

Political Anti-Slavery men exhibited the and Slave Labor, between Freedom and Sla- over the Federal Government, and was seekvery, between Northern Power and the Slave ing to establish perpetual ascendency. Presee that nothing but the most urgent and po- Power, and the scene of that struggle is to be the tending to be National, and the great body of The other mode proposed was, to refer it to tential demonstrations of their opinion and Territory of the United States. We take up their adherents at the North sincerely believthe gauntlet-look to yourselves-God defend ing that they were National, they were controlled and managed by a Sectional Interest

tration appoints the Governor, who can veto Sectional Interest, endeavoring to unmask the will of any majority of the Territorial its policy, and to expose the uniform subservi-Legislature, less than two-thirds; also the ence to it of the Whig and Democratic Parties, of the Union, was the twentieth on the calen- gress, received the sanction of the President, judges, who will have the right to decide on were denounced as Sectional, foes to Nationalthe constitutionality of its acts. Agitate as ity, enemies of the South, seeking to array one much as you please, you will first hare to over- portion of the country against another. This was to be expected. They were confined to jority, and the supporters of the Slave Interest, advantage if they could succeed in fastening

you and your allies, as a test of fitness for the ty and crafty counsels, had perverted the do not seek to disturb by Federal action. and the facilities to escape so enlarged, the

like this exhibition of the workings of your fa- great National Interest of Freedom, a condi-Slavery would give victory to the Party that only bring it back to Washington, to shake had not hesitated in its oath of allegiance. 1856, a man fully representing the doctrine, of the Federal Executive, and involve National Or, should any Public man rebel against this a total divorce of the Federal Government from oath, what counter-Interest was there to save Slavery. him from political degradation? The sceptre was held by Southern slaveholders, and Northern Politicians must bow to their power, or forfeit all hope of political preferment.

We determined to e tablish a counter-Interest-to organize a Party of Freedom against the Party of Slavery. Fourteen years has this work been going on, amidst obloquy and misrepresentation. Its nucleus was formed in 1840, when James G. Birney, (not long before a citizen of Alabama.) selected as the repre votes. Twelve years after, in 1852, it had Freedom, and the striking illustrations of those \$78,670,000. Circumstances or Providence has favored the Southern immigrants. development, until this last and most flagrant attempt of the Party of Slavery to use the power of Northern political organizations for Union to Slave Labor, and investing the Slave

Interest with the attribute of Nationality. The demand now is, not only acquiescene in this movement, but active support to it, on Illinois. pain of being denounced and disfranchised, as Missouri ranges for the most part in the pliance, and are already branded; Northern the same doom. Southern Whigs in the Senate, with a single exception, are energetic supporters of the movement, and the leading Southern Whig papers speak as if there were no longer a Whig party at the North. Southern Democrate in the Senate, with a single exception, have taxed all their energies to force it through Congress, and Southern Democratic presses agree in casting out from party fellowship every Northern Democrat who dissents from it.

Here, and now, we hold, it is the duty the North to meet the issue thrust upon it by the Party of Slavery. Old parties are in fact dissolved-old party questions have disappear ed-there is no Whig Party, there is no Dem ocratic Party. There is an organized Party of Slavery, grasping, defiant, desperate, des potic, controlling the South, clutching at the throat of the North. There is an organized Party of Freedom at the North, the direct antagonist of this, embodying the faith of Freedom in its creed, the policy of Freedem in its little of Northern strength to prove a match policy that secured a free population to Olico, Compromise in 1850 to the Territories acqui for the power of Slavery.

Why should not Northern voters now that the issue between Slavery and Freedom is operation of the policy that has given a slave agree without any breach of faith;" that, forced upon them, rally with this Party, with population to Missouri, it will become peopled the legislation of 1850 did in point of fact s the Independent Democracy, and once for all give these Slaveholders a lesson at the ballotthe country can do, when compelled to the trial Everett coolly tells us that "it is admitted not, "then the bill ought not to pass, be of their strength ? It was because we thought this result im-

portant that we almost regretted that Messrs. Southern men in the House, have felt it their abstraction. duty to oppose the repeal movement, much as culated to break the force of this odious proslavery demonstration, in sundering old party some Northern Whigs and Democrats to cling tocracy is blind, or it would see this, and recog- govern themselves, he saidnise in these exceptional members of its caste, the only men who can save its pretensions from utter overthrow. Meantime, cur business is with Northern

men, Western men, aye, and Southern men, who are sick of subservience to a Class Interest, sick of the yoke of Slavery. The few Slaveholders who protest against this viothing."

This, Mr. Richardson insisted was the latter of the Con
This, Mr. Richardson insisted was the latter of the Con
This, Mr. Richardson insisted was the latter of the Con
This, Mr. Richardson insisted was the latter of the Con
This, Mr. Richardson insisted was the latter of the Union was to amend it in its de
to be secured to Freedom, you have swept and the latter of the Union was to amend it in its de
to be secured to Freedom, you have swept and the latter of the Union was to amend it in its de
to be secured to Freedom, you have swept and the latter of the Union was to amend it in its de
to be secured to Freedom, you have swept and the latter of the Union was to amend it in its de
to be secured to Freedom, you have swept and the latter of the Union was to amend it in its de
explanation. It was through the old Parties, those principles. Add to these considerations, that the propulation of Missouri; pand their value of the Missouri, Pennsylvania, North, and furnished the explanation. It was through the old Parties, those principles. Add to these considerations, that the Administration is now openly com
to be secured to Freedom, you have swept and the latter of the Union was to amend it in its de
explanation. It was through the old Parties, the propulation of Missouri; pennsylvania, North, and the propulation of the Missouri, Pennsylvania, North, and the pro We showed, the other day, that the Democratic Party, which had triumphed at the North, on ern States, of 25,000, it fell under a majority of 500,000 in 1848-a result demonstrating the tremendous strength of the Anti-Slavery Senti-

> siderations. The whole number of votes in the enough to determine the Presidential question the Northern States, formed a very small ma- The free States are entitled to 176 electoral votes, or twenty-seven more than is necessary understanding the attachment of the American to elect a President. As a matter of fact, Gen. People to the idea of Nationality, saw their Taylor and General Pierce were elected to the Presidential Chair by Northern votes; that is upon their opponents the stigma of Sectional had every slaveholding State voted against bigotry.
>
> Nothing could be more false and unjust.
>
> We warred, not against Nationality, but Sec-

terest of Slavery acted with paramount refer- right and interest. Their duty is, to redeem ence to that Interest. Let them call them- the Government from the control of the slave-

late for the reclamation of fugitive slaves, is ments of the Territories, as to allow full and fidelity to the interests of Slavery. And the ed; and a Principle is established, which will just as doubtful as the question whether it has the right to legislate for Territories. You What say you, gentlemen? How do you Here and now, then, the Non-Slavebolders should take their stand; on this distinct issue, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, confront the slaveholders and their adherents-the Party of Slavery-and determine, as they have the power, to place in the Presidential chair, in

> This they can do and ought to do; and they must do it, sooner or later, if they would relieve themselves from the yoke of an overbearing Aristocracy, humble its pretensions, make Liberty supreme in the National Councils and save the Union from destruction.

#### "NO MATERIAL INTEREST AT STAKE." "I believe it is admitted that there is no

naterial interest at stake? Speech of Mr. Everett on the Nebraska Bill.

grown to one hundred and fifty thousand, and The "material interest at stake" is free labor, from one port to another of the United States, ally opposite in nature, generating habits so to-day the ideas and feelings which gave birth the area of which, by the operation of this Bill, any former period. Its growth has been Slave Labor is exhausting, and is always any former period. Its growth has been Slave Labor is exhausting, and is always the soil and climate are said to be well adapt watched with anxiety by the Party of Sla- seeking for virgin soil. The soil of Massachu- ed; and Nebraska will almost necessarily and seeking for virgin soil.

demands. Our action has tended to reveal its ber of its population to a square mile is 137; tactics, and its action, now that it must confront while the ratio in Alabama, with its fertile lent. Not content as formerly with selecting ts mile. And yet, according to the weekly Sen- defeat the bill; but he would have assume Northern instruments, without an open profes- tinel of that State, it lost by emigration, from the responsibility of dividing the now unit sion of loyalty on their part, it requires sub-mission to odious tests as the condition prece-months, an average of 500 every day, or a he would have gained a loss.

"The bill, reduced to its true character, cated upon the Public Mind by the Party of of property carried out by these emigrants at freed from all sophistical confusion, and esp Truths furnished by the Party of Slavery, The Census shows that the course of emigra-

the People have been gradually awaking to tion is not so much from the North to the United States, except that it removes doubt the real relations of Slavery to the old Par- South, as from the South to Northern and declaratory legislation, by impliedly, if not a ties, to the use it has made of them, and to Western territory. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, its irreconcilable enmity to true Nationality. Iowa, Missouri, have been settled largely by History shows that where the Territory has

not been exempted from Slavery by positive Congressional enactment, there immigrants the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, there- have continued to hold their slaves, and have by opening the whole of the Territory of the built up Slave-labor Institutions; and that where there has been such enactment, they it down, as was the case in Ohio, Indiana, and not quite sixteen thousand slaveholders in that

Democrate, who hesitate, are threatened with from Slavery by Congressional enactment, as they were; and to-day, it has 90,000 slaves, people, while not one of them has less than a and control the destinies of the State. Ere million, and Ohio, a smaller State, has twentytwo hundred thousand! By the Missouri Compromise, Nebraska Ter-

ritory, with an area large enough for a dozen such States as Ohio, was exempted from Slavery, and for thirty-three years it has been supposed that States, free and prosperous like Ohio, were to spring out of it. Southern and Northern immigrants, settling it, would be placed on an equal footing, enjoy equal rights, and participate equally in building up free-labor institutions. No one doubts that such will be the result, if the Missouri Compromise be left un-

The Slaveholders, with Mr. Douglas, and a few Northern Senators already disowned by their constituents, propose to repeal this Com- Ex Senator Clemens to Mr. Davis, of Hunt promise, and place Nebraska in the same con- ville, Alabama, in relation to the Nebras dition, as it regards Slavery, as Missouri was Bill. He holds that the Compromise of 1 left in-without protection against the inroads applied alone to the Territory acquired f course of action, but as yet commanding too of that system. Under the operation of the France; that the proposition to extend Indiana, and Illinois, a free population would from Mexico, was a proposition for a new c have been secured to Nebraska. Under the tract to which the North "might agree or with slaves; for a large portion of it lies in the persede the legislation of 1820, then the inse same latitude with Missouri, and is susceptible tion "of such a proviso in the bill, was t box, of what the Non-Slaveholding millions of of the same kind of cultivation. And yet Mr. only unnecessary, but mischievous;" if that there is no material interest at stake !" it bears a falsehood on its face." His opinion Facts show that he and those who concur with evidently is, that it did not so supersede it. him are mistaken, and that the Party of Sla-Bell and Houston in the Senate, and eight very is not fighting so desperately for a mere lates to the position assigned to the President

Senator Butler, in a debate which took place ens after remarking that "the Bill of Mr Dog we honor their heroism. Their position is cal. in the Senate, last Monday, pointed out the las is supported on the axowed ground way in which Slavery would gradually gain the People of a Territory, while it remains foothold in the Territory, should the Compro- Territory, may regulate the subject of Slave relations, and uniting Northern men in solid mise be repealed; for to suffer it to stand, was, for themselves," which he characterizes as phalanx as a Party of Freedom. It may lead in his judgment, to interpose an insuperable dangerous doctrine, and one which as effect obstacle to its introduction. Explaining why ally excludes us from the Territories, as the to the long-cherished idea of equal union in Na- he was willing, in this particular case, to dele- Wilmot Proviso itself," makes the following in tional Parties with Slaveholders. This Aria- gate to the People of the Territory the right to portant statement:

"I will give these powers in this case because it is prudent and proper. I will give them to those who, understanding the great principle of American institutions, will impress t upon the statutes of the Territory, until it shall assume such a position as will enable it to come into the Union as an equal State; but I am not going to deal so with all other Terri-tories. I will deal so with this, because, if you will allow me to say so, I know that Kents gled opinions of the citizens living in and be-yond Missouri will carry cut that judgment in the Territorial laws of these Territories, and I Party, which had triumphed at the North, on legitimate issues, in 1844, lost every Northern State but two in 1848, by committing itself to a candidate whose centiments on the Slavery issue were unacceptable to Northern men; that from being in a majority in 1844, in the Northern States of 25,000, it fell under a majority of ern States of 25,000, it fell under a majority of experiments of these Territories, and I believe they will be just. There are a great many from the North who will go into these Clemens, in the President's own words, visc are men who are capable, before leaving home, of lifting themselves above the prejudices which prevail there; or who have left home with a view to take a fair position in reference to this that beside the general statement attributed to the President, one sentiment is given by Mr. Clemens, in the President's own words, visc that the bill was "a proposition in favor of freedom."

It is easy to see that such a statement attributed to the president, one sentiment is given by Mr. Clemens, in the President's own words, visc that the bill was "a proposition in favor of freedom."

It is easy to see that such a statement attributed to the president, one sentiment is given by Mr. Clemens, in the President's own words, visc that the bill was "a proposition in favor of freedom."

Which, being interpreted, means, that Sen tor Butler votes to give these people the right to govern themselves, with an important qualification, simply and solely because the settlers there, being composed of Kentuckians, Caro-Electoral College is 296—149 a majority, being linians, Missourians, and Northern immi grants free from prejudice against Slavery, will tolerate that system, and protect it by their laws.

Here are some speculations, also, from St. Louis (Mo.) Republican, a Whig journal, showing how much influence the advocates of Slavery attach to the "material interest at

"If Nebraska be made a free Territory, then ense with the vote of Pennsylvania, or will Missouri be surrounded on three sides by office, and call upon Mr. Clemens to repair the mpshire, Iows, and New Jersey, or Il-

"In another aspect, the organization of si sands of farmers, and others, in this State w when they could move with their prope Territory. They entertain a favorable of of the country, and they will expect to mitted to enter it with their property kind, and occupy such portions as may be gally acquired. Shall they be denied right? Shall they be compelled to remain issouri, and the General Governm them the privilege of removing was s this equality of rights as proclaimed Government? Can this be the condition things to which the people of Missouri design hey shall be reduced

The Charleston Courier of the 18th ult. b o doubt that the tobacco planters, the restrict tions being removed, will soon find their was nto the Territory. "Do the exceptants to Senator Butley

urse ever ask themselves what they would we gained, if the Nebraska and Kannas had passed without the removal or abolitic of the Missouri line, to which those region have been expressly subjected by the legisla-tion and Compromise of 1820? The result would undoubtedly have been the surrender of those Territories to the Free-Soilers. Although we hold it clear that the Missouri restriction is unconstitutional, there are a large number who think otherwise, and nothing that of it abolition or removal will have the effect opening those Territories to slaveholders. We have reason to believe, from reliab authority, that, without this measure, a nor slaveholding population would at once cesus Speech of Mr. Everett on the Nebraska Bill.

The opponents of the Bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise differ from Mr. Everett.

principle, if not in national origin, full of the deadliest hostility to Slavery. But, remove

> planters, for the production of which st its social character, and political complexis it borders. "If Senator Butler had deserted his So

Missouri line and restrictions, and Kansas,

are well assured, will be settled by tola

cially from the glosses of men of extren views, on either side, is nothing more than a Territorial bills, under the Constitution of tution over the unconstitutional Missouri Con

In 1845, the number of slaveholders in K tucky was thirty-one thousand and a fraction the number of slaves one hundred and ninet thousand, showing an average of about si slaves to each slaveholder. Taking this as a fair ratio for Missouri, whose slave-population is now ninety thousand, more or less there a about seven hundred thousand. The great same latitudes as these States. Its soil and majority of this population may be considered ably affected by it-it would rejoice to see State freed from the curse. And yet, sixtee thousand slaveholders dictate public sentimen Delaware, with a white population of sevent five thousand, and containing but two thousand slaves, is so far the vassal of the Slave Interes that it cannot relieve itself from the burde

and rise to the dignity of a free State. What is the lesson from these facts? Thro open Nebraska to Slavery, and let but one two thousand tobacco-planters and hem growers, with their slaves, gain foothold in the Perritory, and it will require more effort that non-slaveholders have been in the habit of ma king in such cases, to prevent them from s jugating it to slaveholding institutions.

## THE PRESIDENT AND MR. CLEMENS.

We publish in another column a letter free

But the material portion of the Letter n of the United States on this question. Mr. Clan

"Let me add, that such is the opinion entertained by the President of the Unite States himself. But a few days since in con versation with a Northern Senator and myelf he gave it as his decided opinion, that Do las's bill was 'a proposition in favor of free dom,' and acded, that if it should pa s, although we might absorb the whole of Mexico, not a other slave State would ever come into the Unit He expressed great surprise at the oppositi it met with from the North, and equal surprithat the South should be willing to take I agreed with him fully, and could not help re curring to the stratagem by which the Greek effected the destruction of Troy."

We quote the passage as we find it prin in the Nashville Banner. It will be observe that beside the general statement attribute

this, emanating from a distinguished Souther man, known to be friendly to the President and a supporter of his Administration, m awaken distrust of the hill among Southe men, and diminish the chances of its passa, And what must they think of a Preside whom they have been accustomed to regar as committed entirely to their peculiar into ests, when they see him using all his influence for the passage of a measure which he co siders "in favor of freedom," and under which in his judgment, if it become a law, "not an other slave State would ever come

States is obliged to lay aside the dignity of his office, and call upon Mr. Clemens to repair the